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## **Special Memorandum**

IRAQI STATEMENTS ON NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY

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## IRAQI STATEMENTS ON NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY

This report provides excerpts from speeches by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn from July 1980 to date and other selections from Iraqi media sources pertaining to Iraqi intentions in acquiring nuclear technology. The compendium is drawn from materials monitored by FBIS. It is intended to shed light on Tel Aviv's charge, leveled in the 8 June Israeli Government statement on the bombing of Iraq's Osirak nuclear reactor, that Saddam Husayn had said the reactor "was being installed solely against Israel."

## STATEMENTS BY IRAQI PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSAYN

JULY 1980 - JUNE 1981

Undated interview with Arab journalist Nasir ad-Din an-Nashashibi, published in Kuwaiti newspaper AL-ANBA', Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic, 19 January 1981:

Question: Is the production of nuclear weapons part of Iraq's calculations?

Answer: Brother, Iraq's basic calculations are the use of the atom in the service of Iraq and the Arab nation. There is no scope for any talk about the use of the atom for military purposes because the people who are talking about the atom do not care to go into this delicate subject, particularly since they know the extent of Iraq's possession of modern technology and its methods and development. This does not allow us to go into the details of this delicate subject. I tell you, however, that we are using the atom for peaceful purposes and that we cling to this principle. Moreover, we are the ones who proposed to the United Nations that it issue an international resolution denuclearizing the Middle East area.

Question: Israel, however, says that it is ready to sign any agreement that stipulates the nonproliferation of nuclear arms. What is your opinion?

Answer: This is not enough and does not satisfy us. Israel must say that it is ready to destroy all its nuclear weapons. We understand the deceit inherent in their saying that they are ready to sign a nuclear nonproliferation agreement after they have already produced and own atomic bombs and now do not want such nuclear know-how to come to Iraq or other Arabs.

Israel should agree to open all its doors to an international investigatory body that will look into all the nuclear weapons and nuclear capabilities it has. Israel should then destroy all these weapons. We as Arabs are ready to give a written pledge to the entire world that we will never produce any nuclear weapons

Question: Mr. President, is it not enough for Israel to announce its readiness not to allow the proliferation of nuclear arms through it and to it? - 2 -

Answer: We demand the application of all the UN laws and resolutions pertaining to this subject. Israel has to apply these laws and resolutions. We are not producing atomic bombs but we will not allow Israel to prevent us from attaining a technological level that will enable us to produce nuclear energy in a scientific manner commensurate with its development and with the development of our life, capabilities, mentality and morale.

24 December speech to Iraqi cabinet, Baghdad INA in Arabic, 25 December 1980:

We signed the agreement in 1975. In 1980 we crushed that agreement when Iran violated it totally in behavior and in declarations. Building is as important as preserving military victory. . . . You must work and build as if you were on the frontline, near Dezful, Ahvaz, Mehran and Qasr-e Shirin and with the same spirit, care and accuracy, because their goal is to destroy this construction. You note that the Zionists are now silent over the Iraqi atomic bomb. You recall their escalated statements after Khomeyni's ascendance about fear of the Iraqi atomic bomb. Two months before that these escalated reactions reached the point where they said they would not allow this bomb to see light. We sat and discussed when they would come, where they would attack and what weapons they would use. But it appeared that they made threats only to say later that they defeated the alleged Arah bomb with their superior force, because they are present everywhere and are able to start and wage wars. But they forgot that this scientific power was not given to us for the sake of our pretty eyes by anyone This power was wrested by the Iraqis' capability, determination and resources. Those who can get one laboratory or reactor can get ten more. The immediate return sought by Zionism was the removal and eradication of the entire (Iraqi) regime, so they would rest at

Zionism sees, observes and realizes that the plan for liberation is found primarily in Iraq. Iraq also has another plan, which is not the military plan under discussion, the plan of liberation. Words do not explain who will triumph. The 22 September battle began a long time ago. It began on 30 July and on 17 July. It began with the sound preparation of the nation's vanguards, brick by brick. We have always said that nationalization is a peak to be reached, but not the final one. Our peaks are gradual and support one another on the way up, but their ultimate ceiling is level. The first peak is as high as the last, although the gradation makes one believe that one peak is lesser than another. However, they are all equal and one builds upon the other. Zionism knows better than anyone else the serious danger that Iraq poses to it, though it is not on the geographic frontline.

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10 November Baghdad press conference, Baghdad INA in Arabic, 11 November 1980:

Question: You have dealt with the nuclear installations but you failed, first, to mention the extent of damages sustained by these installations. Is it your intention to manufacture or obtain the nuclear weapons; in other words, the atomic bomb?

Answer: I said that the men who acquired the reactors are also capable of acquiring others if these are destroyed or damaged.

Those who believe that they can dissuade us from dealing with atomic energy within its sound scientific framework are deceiving themselves. We will try to obtain it with our blood for the sake of guaranteeing Iraq's scientific progress within the framework which would enable us to respect international laws and the agreements we signed. We signed the agreement on the nonproliferation of atomic weapons. The Zionist entity, which is crying quite a bit about the alleged Iraqi bomb, should be asked this question: Why is the Israeli atomic bomb made and against whom is it directed?

Undated message to Kuwaiti newspaper AL-WATAN, Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic, 16 September 1980:

As a responsible person and like all responsible leaders, I am aware that the sophisticated means of war possessed by the Zionist enemy will not confine the arena of any possible future battle between this enemy and the Arab nation to the states bordering it. After the states bordering it, Iraq is the closest state to the Zionist entity. Furthermore, the dangerous Zionist threats against Iraq for seeking to possess nuclear technology have made Iraq a central target for Zionist aggression. We must also not forget the Zionist slogan: "From the Nile to the Euphrates." Thus, from what threat would Iraq be escaping?

19 August speech during visit to Al-Qadisiyah Camp for Popular Work, Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic, 20 August 1980:

Some time ago the Zionist entity adopted a serious decision to consider Jerusalem the Zionist entity's capital. Though quite serious, this decision reflects nothing new in the Zionist entity's mentality and its aggressive intentions. . . .

It was necessary to take an effective stand. What then is the effective stand? Any gradual response cannot represent a serious reply to the Zionist entity. Therefore, we decided to confer with the brothers in Saudi Arabia and to study with them the adoption of the decision with which you are aware and which was published in the newspapers. . . The states which have embassies [must withdraw them] from Jerusalem, or else we will boycott them at the end of a 30-day ultimatum. . . .

Some people may ask if this decision is the best that can be taken. No, a better decision would be to destroy Tel Aviv with bombs. [applause, cheers] But we have to use the weapons available until it is actually possible to respond to the enemy with bombs. The other Arab brothers can help us in this respect.

The Zionist entity has filled the world with its clamor about an alleged atomic bomb in Iraq. Golda Meir said: The worst day in my life is when a Palestinian child is born in the land of occupied Palestine; it increases the number of Arabs in occupied Palestine. It seems that the Zionist entity has begun to see in you and perceive in your eyes the coming fighter that will remove it and purge the Arab territory from it and its evils.

20 July Baghdad press conference, Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic, 22 July 1980:

Zionism and those supporting it have for two years been launching a mounting political and information campaign. In their campaign, they say that Iraq wishes to produce a nuclear bomb. The purpose of this campaign is well known. This campaign is based on a sound conviction that the value of man depends on his education.

In contemporary history, the nation which has weak technology is defeated more easily than the nation which enjoys strong technological capabilities. That is why they are trying to gouge out every open Arab eye. They know that Iraq's eye is open in favor of the Arab nation, its dignity, sovereignty and independence. They are well aware of the fact that Iraq's program, which is no secret, is aimed at using the reactors that are being completed with France, or the equipment that is being completed with Italy, for peaceful purposes. The atom is being used at length for peaceful purposes. The atom is being used for military purposes by the well-known superpowers. . . .

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The Zionist entity and all those sympathizing with it should realize that the Arab nation is awakening and that no one can stop its awakening. This nation will make the best use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, will make the best use of the weapons and will make the best use of industry. . . .

Instead of thinking that they can foil the Iraqi plan for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in this manner—on the pretext that Iraq wants to produce a nuclear bomb—they must reconsider their aggressive plans and erroneous opinions of the Arab nation if they are really concerned about their future and the future of mankind. . .

The Zionist entity has not signed the treaty banning the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Ask the Zionist entity: Has it signed the treaty banning the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons? Iraq has signed this treaty. Why is everyone after the party which has signed the nonproliferation treaty—the party which belongs to a nation that has been the victim of aggression, whose rights and sovereignty have been usurped and whose people have been displaced—and not the entity which refuses to sign the nonproliferation treaty, which uses atomic energy for military purposes and which usurps the rights of the Arab nation? . . .

As to your question about how far Israel has gone in hampering our program, I say that we do not have a program for the production of an atomic bomb for Israel to hamper. Our program is well known to France, Italy and the world public. We are using atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Undated speech in Balad, Baghdad INA in Arabic, 25 October 1979:

He pointed out that the struggle with Israel will be long, bitter, tough and full of all eventualities. He said: The day may come when the Zionist enemy may use even the atomic bomb against the Arab homeland and the Arab nation, but as Arabs everywhere and here in Iraq we must be determined not to be defeated before this usurping enemy. We must also be determined to create all the requisites for triumph over the enemy in order to seize our right.

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## OTHER SELECTED IRAQI COMMENT

Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi undated interview in Baghdad, published in London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic, 13 May 1981:

Question: How is your nuclear program progressing at present, in the conditions of war and in view of the continuing efforts by some quarters hostile to Iraq to impede it?

Answer: We do not discuss this subject in detail and do not give information from which the enemy might benefit. But certainly this modest beginning by Iraq on acquiring nuclear technical know-how and on achieving progress and benefit from today's world science—even this the Israeli enemy is resisting viciously and strongly. This is despite the fact that it is established that Israel possesses nuclear weapons, as it and the whole world admit. But because the enemy wants to keep the Arab countries backward, he claims that Iraq is seeking to manufacture nuclear weapons, so as to incite the world against the Arab countries. The enemy is aware that this program is scientific and peaceful. Our program is progressing as it should, and we will not allow the enemy to keep us precluded from the most important scientific development to date.

The 4 October 1980 issue of ATH-THAWRAH, the Ba'th Party daily, was cited by Israeli Prime Minister Begin in a 9 June 1981 press conference as one source of documentation of the charge that Iraq's development of nuclear technology was directed against Israel. The following editorial, provided in full text below, is relevant. No other item in the 4 October issue addresses the subject of nuclear technology. (A notation under the masthead of the 4 October issue indicates that there was a "supplement" that day. Supplements are not always sent to subscribers, and this one is not available in FBIS; they are normally devoted to entertainment or business affairs and are heavily pictorial.)

ATH-THAWRAH editorial, 4 October 1980:

"A Conformity of Goals and Intentions Between the Leaders of Tehran and the Zionists"

(Text) The Iranian regime is still boasting, in its usual provocative and unbalanced manner, about its phony allegation concerning its animosity toward Zionism, while at the same time hidden relation-

ships tie it to the Zionist entity. Despite the utmost secrecy surrounding these relations, their features become clearer every day through many strange incidents and unjustified policies which in their results follow the main stream of the goals and the declared and undeclared intentions of the Zionist entity and of imperialist forces supporting the Zionist aggression and destructive operations against the Arab nation.

The important information published in the world media referred to the open agreement between the Iranian Government and the Zionist entity concerning the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear installations. Added to that, Arab and international circles have regarded this matter with the utmost seriousness. This incident leaves open for study the fact that the Iranian regime, with Khomeyni the imposter sitting on the Peacock throne, still retains important and serious relationships with the Zionists which existed during the Shah's regime. This was confirmed by the state of agreement and harmony in goals and intentions between the Tehran rulers and the Zionists in Tel Aviv.

It is obvious to all that the Tehran rulers have opened the channels which they retained to carry out significant assignments and tasks with the Zionist entity, which dreams and has a mad desire to destroy the Iraqi nuclear reactor. This is after they declared a large-scale propaganda campaign against our country, which puts all its energies and resources in the service of the Arab nation and its national liberation struggle. Moreover, they openly voiced insulting threats, and their thinking even reached the point of talking openly about means to destroy the nuclear reactor which Iraq built for peaceful purposes and for securing Iraq's and the Arab nation's requirements for progress on the road to liberation and victory.

Many questions arose at various levels in the minds of many people, even among those who to a certain extent believed the allegations of the agent Iranian rulers and believed in the game of symbols and demagogic policies.

Iraq will remain able to confront all potentialities and to overcome all dangers and losses which might result from its entry into the honorable struggle of the country and the [Arab] nation to recover its land and to achieve total sovereignty over its land and territorial waters. But what will happen to the agent rulers of Tehran? And what will happen to the hard-working Iranian people as a result of the ignorance, stupidity, and agentry of

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Khomeyni and his gang after the rulers have lost their reason and balance and become so desperate as to open the channels and secret relationships with the Zionists, the enemy of our Arab nation and the good Iranian people?

The coming days will be full of surprises, and the rulers of Tehran will appear as they really are without any disguise. Moreover, their old relationship with the Zionists and American imperialism will be uncovered. Then the whole game will come to an abrupt end, and it will be the role of the Iranian people to put an end to the insanity and recklessness of the Khomeyni bunch forever.

2 September ATH-THAWRAH commentary, Baghdad INA in Arabic, 2 September 1980:

The newspaper ATH-THAWRAH has condemned the U.S. administration's decision to impede the agreement signed between Iraq and the Boeing Company on the purchase of five civilian planes. In a commentary today, ATH-THAWRAH says that this measure constitutes a hostile stand against Iraq, intended to achieve several cunning designs simultaneously. Through this particular stand, the U.S. administration is seeking to gain the favor and support of the majority of Zionist voters in the presidential election campaign, using the platform of blatant hostility to the Arab nation, since this is the most acceptable to Zionist circles.

The paper adds that this U.S. measure is part of the Zionist, U.S. and Persian quarters' frenzied campaign against Iraq's use of nuclear energy for development purposes and against Iraq's principled stands and firm confrontation of imperialist machinations and plots to liquidate the Palestinian issue.